

5241  
POLITICAL  
S  
OBSERVATIONS,

OCCASIONED BY THE

1/2  
STATE of AGRICULTURE

IN THE

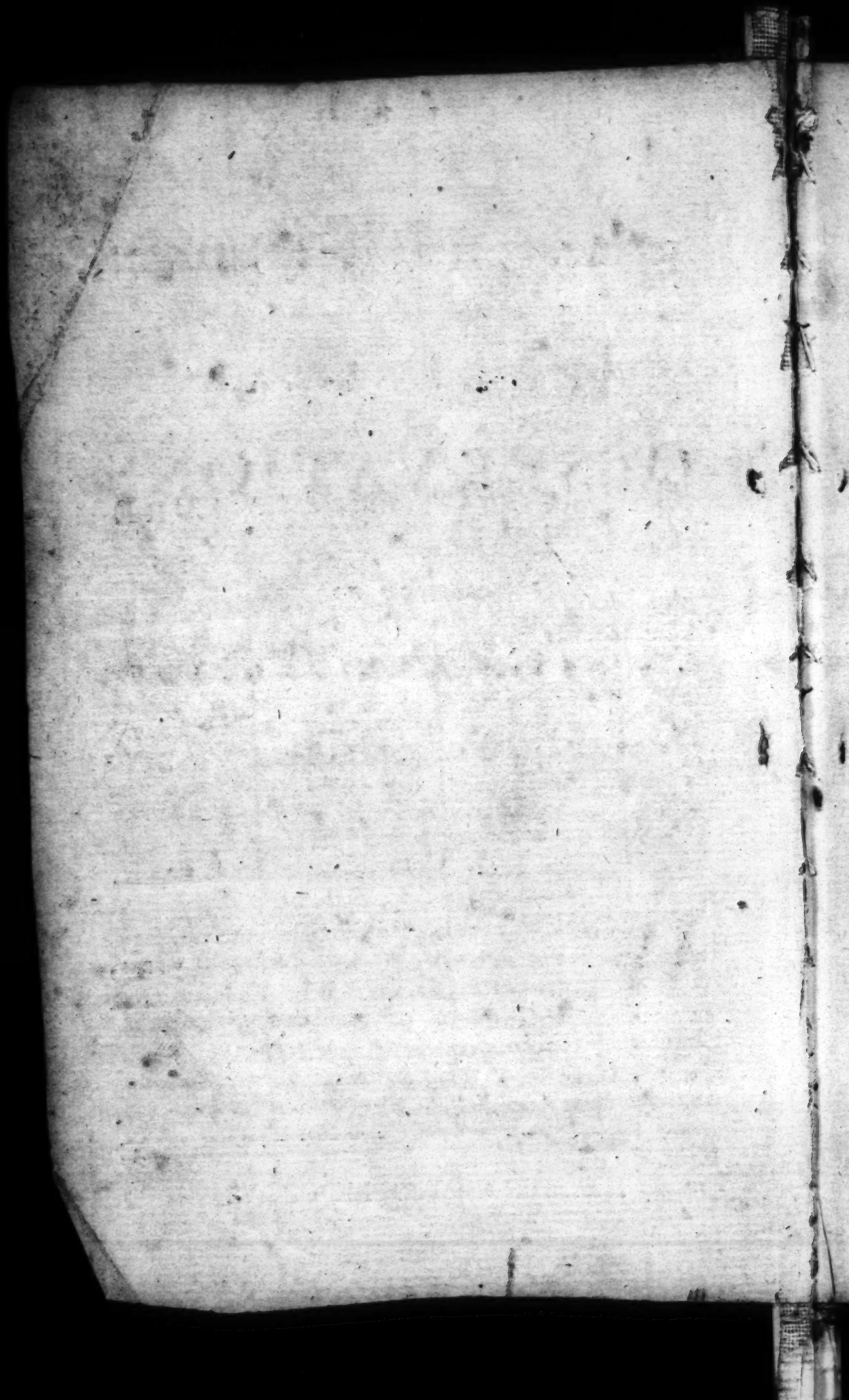


NORTH of SCOTLAND.

1.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
*en quibus conseruimus agros!*

VIRG.

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Printed in the Year MDCCCLVI.



---



---

# POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS,

OCCASIONED BY THE  
STATE of AGRICULTURE  
IN THE  
NORTH of SCOTLAND.

WHEN a sensible *Englishman* travels thro' the *Lothians*, he will see every where cultivated Lands, rich Corn Fields, good Instruments of Husbandry, green Inclosures, Flocks and Herds of a good Size ; he will see few Marks of Poverty and Slavery : So pronounces it a good Country.—But when he takes his Course along the Northern Coasts of *Scotland*, a different

A



ferent Prospect opens on his Eye ; he observes a tolerable good Surface of Earth, but badly cultivated Corn Fields, ill plowed, and coarsly dressed, rude and ill contrived Instruments of Husbandry, few Inclosures, and all the Horses, Cows and Sheep of a diminutive Size. The Northern Commons will appear to him Men of dejected Looks, poorly fed and meanly cloathed : If he goes into their Cottages, he will be thoroughly convinced of their Poverty and Misery ; accordingly, all *Englishmen* talk of the Northern *Scots* as poor Slaves, and of the Country as the most wretched that can be imagined.—Several *Scots* Gentlemen who have made the Tour of the North, give quite different Accounts of it at their Return to *Edinburgh*. They ride thro' the North of *Scotland* for Health and Pleasure ; as they make only a short Stay, they are entertained with the greatest Hospitality by all whom they go to visit. From this Circumstance alone they judge of the whole Country.

If those Gentlemen were to publish Accounts of their Travels, they would contain neither more nor less, than the Tour thro' *North Britain*.—It is a Weakness common to all Travellers, that they judge of a Country from the few, and not from the Multitude ; they think and speak of nothing except their own Entertainment in different Places ; they tell us of agreeable Landskips, of beautiful or magnificent Scenes, and of fine Seats ; but they know little of the State of Trade, Agriculture and Liberty. The Civility and Complaisance of the Northern Commons has been much extolled by Strangers ; and indeed their Behaviour is not by far so rough as that of the *Lothian* Carmen, or the Seceders of



of *Fife*. But the Difference arises from this single Circumstance, The latter are free Men, and conscious of their Liberty; whereas the former are rendered pliant by Oppression, and inured to the utmost Servility.

No Northern *Scotsman*, however partial to his Country, will deny any of the following Assertions.

The arable Grounds in the North of *Scotland* are not laboured to the best Advantage.——They sow few Pease, and less Wheat. Their Bear and Oats are of the coarsest Kind, the Bear small and rough, and the Oats black. They use the worst and most hungry of their Grain for Seed, they know not what it is to rest or fallow their Corn Grounds; their Ridges are often separated by Spots of Grass, by Stones, and small Rocks, which may be easily removed. One may frequently see Fields equally good in all Places, and of forty Acres extent, in which, by Means of these Impediments, they could sow no more than four Bolls of Oats, one Third of the Increase of which is commonly destroyed by Cattle, feeding in the Spots of Grass betwixt the Ridges. Their Plows and Harrows are of the coarsest Kind; in many Parts they use a small Plow with one Stilt, which makes so little Impression, and such an unequal Fur, that they are obliged to delve with Spades; and where they use light or Timber-teeth'd Harrows, they are obliged to reduce the Clods with Mells. They have few Wheel Carriages, and those of the clumsiest Make.

Their Grass Grounds are rarely inclosed, and ly mostly in Commonities; they sow no Clover or Rye-grass, nor are they in the least careful to improve the Breed of Horses, Cows, and Sheep, which  
are

are all little and poor. Their Flocks and Herds are in many Places unattended by an Herdsman.

All the Lands from *Pertb* to the most distant of the *Scots* Isles, are capable of great Improvements; to say that they could be increased to one Third greater Value, would be somewhat below the Truth.

It is no useless Employment to investigate the Causes of the slow Advances of Agriculture in the North of *Scotland*, and to expose them to the View of the Publick; for when the Causes of any Malady are once well ascertained, the proper Remedies can be more effectually applied.

The first general Cause of Non-improvement, is to be found in those national Manners, which result from the Nature of the Constitution.

The antient Government of *Scotland* was an ill-contrived Aristocracy, neither so good, nor so well defined as that of *Poland*. The Genius of the Nation was warlike, and we had one powerful, and almost constant Enemy, our neighbouring Nation of *England*; very powerful Succours were often sent to our Allies the *French*. When we had Peace with *England*, the martial Genius of the Nation was, by the unhappy Defects of the Constitution, fatally turned against itself. — The Nobility and great Families, whose Lands were contiguous, never wanted Pretextes of Plea and Litigation; the Bent of those Times inclined them to dispute their Cause by the Sword, rather than appeal to publick Justice, which had not Power sufficient to enforce its own Decisions. The History of *Scotland* is full of these Broils and Dissentions; all the Traditions and Ballads in the North refer to the Wars, Duels, and Inroads of the different Chieftains. This unhappy and distracted State of *Scotland* was owing to the small  
Power

Power of the Kings, and their frequently disputed Titles, to the Want of Vigour in the Administration of Affairs, to the feeble and partial Exercise of Justice, and to the great Powers of the Nobles in those military Ages. In such a Situation, it was the Interest of every Chief to keep a steady Eye on his Neighbour's Conduct, and to have as great a Number of Men, as his Lands could maintain, to defend himself, or to annoy his Enemy as his different Occasions required.

In consequence of this political Principle, the holding of every Tenant was of no greater Extent, than what was barely sufficient to maintain his Family, and he was at his Landlord's Command in all Insurrections. We can still trace many Usages from the barbarous Policy of these Times. We frequently see great Villages, possessed by small Tenants and Feuars, near the Ruins of old Castles, in order to have Defence at Hand in case of a sudden Attack.—We frequently see the Marks of Furrows on the Sides of steep Hills, which ought never to have been in Tillage: This was, no doubt, to increase the Number of Vassals, with which, Power and the Preservation of Property were so intimately connected.

From the Accession of *James VI.* to the Crown of *England*, until the Union of the two Kingdoms in 1707, there was no remarkable Change in *Scotland*, in favour of Agriculture or Trade, altho' the Feuds betwixt the great Families had subsided very much, and all *Europe* seemed inclined to cultivate the Arts of Peace.—History will inform us, that this was owing to the low Politicks of *James VI.* who regarded the Riches and Improvement of *Scotland*  
as



as Matters of small Importance, when compared to his favourite Scheme of bringing this Kingdom to an Uniformity in Religion with *England*.—The civil Wars in the following Reign, the Tyranny of *Lauderdale*, and the frequent Commotions, on account of Religion, in the Reign of *Charles II.* retarded the Progress of all Industry. The Reign of *James II.* was inglorious and short.—King *William* and his *English* Ministry understood nothing of the Constitution of *Scotland*; and it was not the Interest of any *Scots* Nobleman to inform them of it, lest he might have lessened his own Power.

All Improvements in *Scotland* were for many Ages confined to a few Inclosures near Gentlemens Seats, begun and finished by the Services of Tenants, rigorously exacted, and often illegally forced from them by the most severe Threatnings. Our Intercourse with *England* after the Union, seemed to be favourable to the Progress of Agriculture, which before that Period was as little understood in *East Lothian*, as it is now in *Lochaber*, *Gaithness*, or any of the Isles. The Union, at the same Time that it curbed the Power of the Nobles, and increased the Liberty of the Commons, turned the Bent of the Nation to the milder Arts of Peace and Industry: Yet in the Course of near fifty Years, the Face of *Scotland* is as wild and uncultivated as ever, except in the *Lothians*, *Merse* and *Fife*. One Reason of which is, that the old Maxims of Policy remain with most of the Landlords. Power and Dominion are flattering Objects to the human Mind; when Tenants are numerous and dependent, the Landlord enjoys all the Fruits of their Labour and Industry, and the unhappy Slaves render them Men  
of

of Weight and Consequence in turbulent and stormy Times. — In Places where the Military Spirit has been long lost, a cruel and fantastick Power is affected over the Tenants, and a Species of Domination prevails, so far from being worthy of a generous Mind, that it is more contemptible than the Power exercised by the Kings of Gypsies and Beggars.

Much Mischief has been caused by the Power of *Highland* Clans, but their Vassals were not in the worst Condition, because the Tyranny over Military Men must be more mild, as the Chiefs depend on their Courage, and faithful Attachment to them, in case of a Rebellion or Insurrection. The Name, Alliance and Relation help not a little to mitigate the Tyranny of Chieftains. The common *Highlanders* look brisker, and have more Spirit than the *Lowland* Peasants; they are more dangerous to their Country, but they are much happier, braver, and fight better. In the late Rebellion, the *Lowlanders* served only to make up the Number, and render a greater Force necessary to defeat the Clans: But in the *Lowland* Northern Coast, where there is no Consideration sufficient to check Avarice, the Commons are more wretched than any Eastern Slaves.

Had Liberty been well understood at the Union, or had the Rights of the People been duly asserted, heritable Jurisdictions would have been then abrogated; this was not done till forty Years afterwards: And if the Government does not give some Encouragement to Agriculture, the Consequences of those Jurisdictions may retard all industrious Improvement, for forty Years to come. Power, and a Love of Dominion on the Side of the Great, Ignorance, and

a servile Habit of Life among the Commons, will long continue Things in their wonted Course; old Usages however pernicious, are of more Respect among the Vulgar, than new Laws, which abolish these Usages.

Another great Impediment to the Progress of Agriculture, is the short Term of Leases.—At an Average, all the Tacks of Farms in *Scotland* are under five Years. Every sensible Farmer knows, that no Improvement can be finished in so short a Time: No considerable Improvement can be made, or ought in Prudence to be made, on a Farm of the ordinary Lease of nineteen Years: By reason of the Shortness of Leases, the Farmer is continually at the Mercy of his Master; Grassums are every where demanded, and it is much if Tenants can regain these, during the Term of their Tacks. There are frequently irritant Clauses in Tacks, and the Tenant is not only afraid, but utterly unable to dispute these with his Master: In such Circumstances the Farmer must affect Poverty, as much as he can; and if he should lay out any of his small Gain, to increase his Farm-stock, or to improve his Lands, which is the most natural Application of it, he would only obtain by it an heightening of his Rent, perhaps he would be removed from his Farm. This makes him careless of all Improvement, and he very wisely eats and drinks the Overplus of his Crop, because his Master would get it, if he saved it. Masters often pick Quarrels and Pleas with a thriving Tenant, they oblige him to compound by giving some Compliment; and what may seem strange, it has been often the only assignable Reason for turning him out, that he paid his Rent too punctually.

This



This was affecting too much Independence, and indeed it is generally wise to depend more on the Favour of a Landlord, than on one's own Industry: The general Maxim in the North is, Keep the Commons dependent, and as much in their Master's Power as you can.

Another Impediment of Agriculture is this, In many Counties the arable Lands lye runrig.—I have known sixty Farmers on a thousand Acres, of whom not one had one fourth of an Acre in one Place. This is an effectual Bar to all good Husbandry, for no Tenant can introduce a Method of Farming different from his Neighbours. All must sow and reap at the same time; they can neither fallow nor inclose their Grounds; and they labour at a far greater Expence than is necessary.

In military Times, this Practice engaged all the Villagers, in the Defence of the common Property: But in our Days nothing can be imagined so absurd as to continue Corn-fields runrig, and Pastures in Commonities. Every sensible Man will see, that, in consequence of this Custom, the Farmer must have one half less Grain and Pasture, than he ought to have. In many Places of the North each Side of the Ridge is quite bare, and a little good Corn in the middle of it.

Another great Impediment to Agriculture is, the numerous and undetermined Services paid to the Master. In many Places the Tenant is obliged to sow and reap his Landlord's Farm; his own Crop must suffer by such Services, for the Master will have the best Seasons for sowing and reaping. Many inferior Services call off the Tenant from his necessary Labour, and from that close Attention,  
which

which Agriculture requires. — Acts of Parliament can be easily eluded. A Master clogs a Tack with more Services than he has Use for, or will ever demand ; he sets his Farm at an higher Rent, than it can afford to pay ; the Tenant is consequently always deficient both in Services and Rent.

The Landlord takes all he can spare, so that a good or bad Crop is indifferent to him, and he abhors all extraordinary Labour and Industry ; the Fruits of which go to those who never toil. Property, and the Management of it, are justly held sacred, so that this Abuse must be reformed by the lenient Hand of Time.

Another Hindrance of the Progress of Agriculture in the North, is said to be the wretched Manners of the Commons.

All Strangers are sure to hear this from the Gentry, who constantly upbraid the common People with Want of Fidelity, Honesty and Industry. No true *Scotsman* can read the History of his Country, without being moved with Pity and Indignation.

What infinite Mischiefs has she suffered from the tyrannical Exercise of Power lodged without Controul, in the Hands of Subjects ?

All *Europe* has been indebted to us for Statesmen, Generals, and Men of Genius and Learning. Our Countrymen have distinguished themselves for the Benefit of almost every Nation, except their own. All the fine Spirits of our Country fled from Hunger, Cold and Iron Oppression, which rendered these Evils more horrible, by enslaving the Body and debasing the Mind, to seek happier Fortunes in other Climes. Their Country maintained them, educated them, and brought them up to Manhood, and they,

they were lost to her at their most useful Time of Life. In our Days, every young Fellow of Spirit in the North, goes abroad in Quest of better Fortune; the Dregs remain at home fit to be Slaves, and often partaking of the wretched Manners and bad Qualities of that Condition of Life. I have often heard it laid down as a Maxim, but never without Indignation, that all the Commons are Rogues, more or less; and few Gentlemen doubt the Truth of this Assertion, so inglorious to their Species, and so dishonourable to themselves.—If the Possessors of Property are Tyrants, their Tenants will be Slaves; if the former are proud, rapacious, revengeful and unrelenting, the latter will be mean, thievish, sly, and fawning; but, in a less Degree, because they are more restrained. It is very cruel to upbraid the most useful, and most abused Part of Mankind, for Crimes, which are the almost necessary Consequences of Oppression.

I cannot forbear taking Notice of the frequent Executions for Theft, in the Northern Circuit since the Rebellion: The unhappy Men who suffered, were biassed by Education, the strongest of all Principles, and their native Prejudices were confirmed by Habit, by Poverty, and Want of Industry; probably not many of the Juries were free from the Crime of Oppression, and I believe they were also ignorant of the necessary Connection betwixt that Crime and Theft. But it would have been both wise and humane, had thote concerned in the *Scots* Administration procured a Mitigation of the Sentence.

Banishment is the only proper Punishment of this Crime in the North. Many People in *Edinburgh* and in *England*, have North Country Servants, who



who generally prove faithful, honest and industrious; had they remained at home, they would probably have shared the unhappy Fate of many of their Countrymen.

Some Authors have insinuated, and I have heard it affirmed by many Persons at *Edinburgh*, that the Non-improvement of Land in *Scotland*, has been owing in a great Measure to the Prevalence of dissaffected Principles in the North. There is not however so much Dissaffection in the North as these People imagine: And surely the Love of Power, firmly rivetted in the Breasts of powerful Chiefs, is as general a Cause both of Dissaffection, and of the slow Progress of Agriculture, as can be assigned; for Men will naturally be prejudiced against equal Liberty and a free Constitution, which must flourish on the Ruins of their unconstitutional and tyrannick Power. Many accidental Circumstances co-operate with the Causes already mentioned, to increase the Poverty of the Husbandman, and no doubt others happen, which alleviate their Misery: But, in general, it may be taken for granted, that the Causes, which retard Improvements, are strong, and lasting; whereas those that counterbalance them, are slight and accidental.

Men can very easily bear the Misfortunes of their Fellow-creatures, and by a small Refinement convert the Misery of others to Bliss. When any Lover of Liberty bewails the wretched Condition of the Northern Commons, the better Sort, who are not oppressed, reply instantly, and with great Indifference, that they know no better, they chuse no better, and are as happy in their Way as the most free People on Earth: And their Divines and Philosophers

sophers admire the wonderful Wisdom of Providence, which in spite of every outward Circumstance, renders all Mankind, by some sweet Inchantment, equally happy. But surely nothing can be more false in Fact than such Opinions; and no philosophical Tenet can be so destructive of every thing that renders Society happy, as that which makes the Deity indifferent to Wisdom and Folly, to Virtue and Vice, to Liberty and Slavery, in his Distribution of Happiness to Mankind, and to Nations. Modern *Greece* and *Rome* are not equal to the Antient, because they have not the same Liberty; and surely no Man of common Sense will believe that the *Russian* or *Turkish* Monarchies are as well constituted to promote human Happiness, as *Holland* or *Switzerland*.

Many Friends of Liberty are of Opinion, that in all States, there is more Freedom the nearer you are to the Centre of Government, and less the farther you retire from it: As the Sun has more Influence near the Equator, than in Regions which lye under the Poles. This Opinion will hold true of Monarchies governed by wise and good Princes; but in the Reign of a Tyrant it is good to live in the most remote Parts of the Nation. It is indeed probable, that in such an extensive Country as *Britain*, Liberty cannot diffuse much genial Heat to Countries at a great Distance from the Centre of Government. In order to remedy this, and other Defects, almost necessary in very extensive free States, that eminent Patriot, *Andrew Fletcher* of *Salton*, proposed a federal *British* Republic, consisting of ten or twelve federal independent Districts. The Scheme was worthy of a Man who understood

stood Liberty, and loved his Country so well; he proposed it at a proper Time, but his Country had not Understanding and Virtue enough to embrace it.

Many have concluded from the Populousness of the Northern Coast and the Islands, that they enjoy as much Liberty as their Southern Countrymen; but this Populousness is owing to several obvious Causes: The Rudeness of Agriculture, the Want of useful Machines, and the Fuel, which is Peats, together with Salmon-fishing, render a great Number of Hands necessary: People on the Sea-coast are generally the most prolifick; but what avails Populousness without Liberty? There are not just now, nor have there ever been any great and useful publick Works begun, and carried on by that great Multitude of Hands; nor have they served any Purpose so frequently, as that of disturbing the Peace, and endangering the Liberties of *Britain*; tho' this is more properly their Misfortune than their Fault. Unhappy Men! they belong not to the Publick, they have few of the Privileges of free Subjects, and are the Property of petty Chiefs and Lairds.

There have been several Societies many Years past in *Scotland*, for Improvements in Agriculture, and Manufactures; we have one in *Edinburgh* at present not unlike that of *Dublin*. The *Irish* Society has been of Benefit to the *Irish* Linen Manufactures; it has farther increased the Value of Land, but the Husbandman and the Peasant are as dependent, slavish, and beggarly as ever. Many Gentlemen in *Scotland* have ruined themselves by fantastick Improvements, borrowed from *England*, but not adapted to the Soil and Climate of *Scotland*. The most expensive Improvements cannot render our Soil equal



qual to that of *Naples*, but it requires only common Sense, and a generous Good-will to Mankind, to render our Peasants richer, freer and happier, than those in Countries where Nature has lavished her Blessings, with the most liberal Hand. Compare *Naples* and the most barren of the *Swiss* Cantons together, and we must be convinced that rich Soil, and high-rented Land make not an happy and flourishing People.

The Custom so frequent in *Scotland* of entailing Estates is an Enemy to Agriculture ; most Entails restrict the Proprietor in giving long Tacks, the great Part of them allow only of nineteen Years. The Legislature ought to curb this Vanity, which is so hurtful to Society, and so repugnant to the Laws of God and Nature.

All the forfeited *Highland* Estates are now annexed to the Crown, in order to civilize the *Highlands*: The Intention of the Legislature was good, and commendable, and, if it is rendered effectual, which is very doubtful, it will be productive of great Good. It is now too late to regret, that many *Lowland* forfeited Estates were sold to the *York-buildings* Company, who sublet them to Factors, a Generation of Men Enemies to all Improvements, and who oppress the Tenants as much as they can, to fill their own Pockets. But it would be no Loss to the Government, and a great Benefit to the Country, if they should purchase an Estate of Five hundred Pounds *per* Year in every *Lowland* Northern County ; let them give long Leases, free of burdensome Services, on Condition that so much of the Ground be inclosed, so much of it yearly fallowed, and so much Wheat, or other Grains, yearly sowed. The Tenant must not be a Gentle-

C

man,

man, or Gentleman's Son, and must have no Power of subsetting.

If Parties of Soldiers were quartered far North, and in the Isles, with Leave given to every Man, who shall marry, to quit the Service, on his Corps being recalled, it would be of Service to these Countries, and the Army would have Plenty of Recruits, to replace those who may chuse to settle.

If a *Chelsea* Pensioner, bred in *England*, the *Lothians*, or near *Dublin*, to the Plow, or the Loom, had the Offer of twenty Shillings added to his annual Pension, provided he would settle in some Place of the North of *Scotland*, it would be of Use; and, as the wandering Life of a Soldier renders all Places indifferent to him, many would embrace the Proposal.

I have mentioned this, because many Improvements were introduced by *Oliver Cromwell's* Soldiers. The Discovery and Use of Marle in *Orkney* was owing to them.

Poor Men who must calculate the minuteft Article of Expence, who understand their own Business, will always recede from the established Customs of a Country by the slowest and surest Degrees, and this will induce the Inhabitants, ever tenacious of old Customs, to imitate their Example.

As the Government intends to reform the *Highlands*, and have appropriated Funds for that Purpose; his Majesty's royal Bounty of a thousand Pounds *per annum* to the Church of *Scotland* ought to be distributed for the Encouragement of Husbandmen, Manufacturers, Fishers and Sailors, in different Places of the North.

Popery in *Scotland* is a meer Bugbear, it has lost all its wisest Priests, and all its powerful Patrons.  
Throughout

Throughout all our Nation, we have more Christian Knowledge, and less Popery than in *England*. We want nothing but their Liberty, their Arts and Industry.

At the Meeting of the Committee for managing the royal Bounty, an indifferent Spectator would naturally imagine, from the Accounts given by the Northern Clergy, that a Reward of two Hundred Pounds was to be given to that Minister, who had most Papists in his Parish; in short, the poor Papists are as much increased in their Numbers every Year as *Falstaff's* Men, and by the same Power of Imagination.

The Society for propagating Christian Knowledge are more than sufficient for all the Purposes of Religion in *Scotland*. They may also be useful in promoting Agriculture, Manufactures and Fisheries. Most People in the South imagine, that all religious publick Funds should be employed in converting Papists; but the Number of these is contemptible, and the proper Division of religious Parties in *Scotland*, is not that of Papists and Protestants, but that of Presbyterians and Non-juring Episcopalists; and it is of more real Advantage to Society, to instruct twelve Boys in the useful Arts, (whose Education makes them fit to serve their Country) than to educate one Hundred spiritless Papists. The Hands of useful Men ought to be strengthened as much as possible. The natural Progress of Arts and Religion will not leave one Thousand Papists in *Scotland* in thirty Years.

As the Society has been of small Use to Religion, but of none to Liberty, the Government, if possible, should take their Funds into their own Hands, and apply



apply them effectually for promoting Liberty, Religion, and every useful Art.

In order effectually to promote Agriculture, the greatest Encouragement ought to be given to fair Trade, Manufactures and Fisheries. The first Thing to be done to render Commerce flourishing, is to discourage Smuggling, the most universal Branch of Business in the North, a most pernicious Enemy to the Country, and real Industry. In all small trading Towns, the only Men of Fashion are those who carry on an illicit Trade, and those who are well paid to destroy it.

All Clauses in the Charters of Boroughs, which exclude ingenious Manufacturers, and Handicrafts, or which bind them down to severe Conditions, ought to be annulled.

There are Defects in the political Constitution of *Scotland*, which have retarded the Progress of Agriculture and of Liberty.—*England* is at least forty Times richer than *Scotland*, notwithstanding which, a Freehold of forty Shillings *Sterling* intitles an *Englishman* to vote for a Knight of the Shire ; whereas in our Country few are intitled to vote, who have not Estates of eighty, or an Hundred Pounds *Sterling per annum* : So that there are many more Freeholders in several *English* Counties, taken separately, than there are in all *Scotland*. During the Ministry, which succeeded Sir *Robert Walpole*, our Representatives procured an Act of Parliament, which lessened the Number of Freeholders considerably. Their Country will neither bless nor thank them for it. The Pretence of this Act was to prevent Confusion, and undue Practices in Elections, which it has no Tendency to do ; and though it could have produced such an Effect, it was certainly paying too dear

dear for a Freedom from those Inconveniencies, which are inseparable from all Elections, to purchase it at the Expence of sacred Liberty. It certainly would be very foolish for a Man to cut off all his Limbs to be free from slight Pain. The Liberties of *England* depend much on the great Number of Electors; and though they indulged us in our selfish Folly, they did not follow our Example. This Defect of our Constitution keeps up the awful Distance betwixt the high and the low; it intercepts every poor Man's View of a Publick; it keeps him ignorant that he is a free Citizen, and it increases the Dependence of the Tenant on his Master. The *English* Constitution has contributed to make a rich, free, and independent Set of Tenants, and to render all Men as equal as possible.—Hence the meanest *Englishman* is concerned for the Glory of his Nation, is jealous of its Liberties, and anxious about the Exercise of Power, because he is a free Citizen, and shares the Power, which rules himself and the Nation. The *British* Parliament ought to rectify this Error of our Constitution, and no loyal *Scotsman*, who possesses a Freehold of twenty Shillings *Sterling* a-Year, ought to be excluded from voting at Elections. Every Body knows that there is very little Disaffection among the Commons of *Scotland*. If the *English* Ministry would give us only *English* Liberty, they need not be much afraid of Rebellions, for this would make Liberty, Industry, and Agriculture flourish, more than all the partial Efforts of the Legislature, and of private Men, since the Union. Our Elections in Boroughs ought to be by Poll, as in *England*.

No Set of Men are less intangled in Law-suits than the *Lothian* Farmers. The Profits of Agriculture  
are

are slow, and must be soon swallowed by little Petrifoggers and Writers.

In many Counties of the North, there are several Substitute-Sheriffs or Stewards. The Reasons assigned for this Institution, were the great Extent of the Counties, and the Difficulty of Communication betwixt Places separated by Hills, Lakes, Mosses and Friths. It is certain, that the Superior thereby gave Bread to some hungry Dependents. These puny Substitutes of a Parish or small District, beget Pleas in as great Abundance, as Flies in an hot Summer; and it is their Interest to foment and protract them, and to perplex the Understandings of simple, honest Men, and render them litigious. The chief Substitute, who resides in the County-town, has a small Salary from the Depute, so that it is no Wonder to see that Place filled by Men of small Knowledge and Capacity. The Depute resides in the County a few Months, and if he is a Native, he will have too great an Attachment to old Customs. In order to remedy the Evils arising from the Defects of a most humane and well meant Law, it may be proposed,

That the Depute-Sheriffs of the Northern Shires be Men born and bred in the South of *Scotland*.

That they be obliged to constant Residence.

That they hold their Offices for Life.

That their Salaries be augmented at least one Third more. And *lastly*,

That they be allowed no Substitutes.

Perhaps, Justice of Peace Courts are of no Use in the North.

Many Schemes might be proposed for the Advancement of Liberty and of Agriculture, but no sensible Plan can be executed, without much more publick and private Virtue, than our Country can boast of.



of. When one reflects on the miserable Education of our great Men, he will wonder that they are not more unconcerned about the Happiness of the poor Commons. Our *Scots* Gentry have of late commenced Farmers, this is certainly going out of their Sphere ; their proper Business is to give due Encouragement to the Husbandman, and they will be more useful and ornamental to their Country, by applying themselves to Philosophy and the Sciences, to the Law and the Army, than by following the Plough : Or, if they must have rural Amusements, let them confine themselves, like the old *Roman* Dictators, to their Gardens and a few Acres of Land. In *Italy*, *Barbary* or *Asia*, where indulgent Nature provides the Necessaries of Life almost spontaneously, Tyranny may be tolerable; but in our Country, where Nature deals her Gifts with a sparing Hand, where the Soil is barren, and the Climate wretchedly bad, and where all the Necessaries of Life are purchased by great Labour, Tyranny is a more hideous Monster than the Poets have ever feigned.

F I N I S.

The first of these is the fact that the  
 second of these is the fact that the  
 third of these is the fact that the  
 fourth of these is the fact that the  
 fifth of these is the fact that the  
 sixth of these is the fact that the  
 seventh of these is the fact that the  
 eighth of these is the fact that the  
 ninth of these is the fact that the  
 tenth of these is the fact that the  
 eleventh of these is the fact that the  
 twelfth of these is the fact that the  
 thirteenth of these is the fact that the  
 fourteenth of these is the fact that the  
 fifteenth of these is the fact that the  
 sixteenth of these is the fact that the  
 seventeenth of these is the fact that the  
 eighteenth of these is the fact that the  
 nineteenth of these is the fact that the  
 twentieth of these is the fact that the  
 twenty-first of these is the fact that the  
 twenty-second of these is the fact that the  
 twenty-third of these is the fact that the  
 twenty-fourth of these is the fact that the  
 twenty-fifth of these is the fact that the  
 twenty-sixth of these is the fact that the  
 twenty-seventh of these is the fact that the  
 twenty-eighth of these is the fact that the  
 twenty-ninth of these is the fact that the  
 thirtieth of these is the fact that the  
 thirty-first of these is the fact that the  
 thirty-second of these is the fact that the  
 thirty-third of these is the fact that the  
 thirty-fourth of these is the fact that the  
 thirty-fifth of these is the fact that the  
 thirty-sixth of these is the fact that the  
 thirty-seventh of these is the fact that the  
 thirty-eighth of these is the fact that the  
 thirty-ninth of these is the fact that the  
 fortieth of these is the fact that the  
 forty-first of these is the fact that the  
 forty-second of these is the fact that the  
 forty-third of these is the fact that the  
 forty-fourth of these is the fact that the  
 forty-fifth of these is the fact that the  
 forty-sixth of these is the fact that the  
 forty-seventh of these is the fact that the  
 forty-eighth of these is the fact that the  
 forty-ninth of these is the fact that the  
 fiftieth of these is the fact that the  
 fifty-first of these is the fact that the  
 fifty-second of these is the fact that the  
 fifty-third of these is the fact that the  
 fifty-fourth of these is the fact that the  
 fifty-fifth of these is the fact that the  
 fifty-sixth of these is the fact that the  
 fifty-seventh of these is the fact that the  
 fifty-eighth of these is the fact that the  
 fifty-ninth of these is the fact that the  
 sixtieth of these is the fact that the  
 sixty-first of these is the fact that the  
 sixty-second of these is the fact that the  
 sixty-third of these is the fact that the  
 sixty-fourth of these is the fact that the  
 sixty-fifth of these is the fact that the  
 sixty-sixth of these is the fact that the  
 sixty-seventh of these is the fact that the  
 sixty-eighth of these is the fact that the  
 sixty-ninth of these is the fact that the  
 seventieth of these is the fact that the  
 seventy-first of these is the fact that the  
 seventy-second of these is the fact that the  
 seventy-third of these is the fact that the  
 seventy-fourth of these is the fact that the  
 seventy-fifth of these is the fact that the  
 seventy-sixth of these is the fact that the  
 seventy-seventh of these is the fact that the  
 seventy-eighth of these is the fact that the  
 seventy-ninth of these is the fact that the  
 eightieth of these is the fact that the  
 eighty-first of these is the fact that the  
 eighty-second of these is the fact that the  
 eighty-third of these is the fact that the  
 eighty-fourth of these is the fact that the  
 eighty-fifth of these is the fact that the  
 eighty-sixth of these is the fact that the  
 eighty-seventh of these is the fact that the  
 eighty-eighth of these is the fact that the  
 eighty-ninth of these is the fact that the  
 ninetieth of these is the fact that the  
 ninety-first of these is the fact that the  
 ninety-second of these is the fact that the  
 ninety-third of these is the fact that the  
 ninety-fourth of these is the fact that the  
 ninety-fifth of these is the fact that the  
 ninety-sixth of these is the fact that the  
 ninety-seventh of these is the fact that the  
 ninety-eighth of these is the fact that the  
 ninety-ninth of these is the fact that the  
 hundredth of these is the fact that the

